

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 148911  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY AF/S-DKEOGH:LFS  
APPROVED BY AF/S-DKEOGH  
-----036066 122302Z /61  
O 122153Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 2501 ACTION SECSTATE, USUN  
INFO GABORONE, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, LAGOS, PRETORIA, LONDON, OTTAWA,  
PARIS, BONN AND CAPE TOWN JUN 12.

QUOTE: CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 2501

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, TZ, NM  
SUBJECT: NYERERE REPORTS ON NAMIBIA

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE PROPOSES WESTERN FIVE EFFORT TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO AGREE TO STATIONING ITS 1500 MAN RESIDUAL FORCE "ANYWHERE SOUTH OF WINDHOEK." IF THIS CAN BE DONE, WESTERN FIVE SHOULD MEET ONCE MORE WITH SWAPO IN LUANDA AND AGREEMENT WOULD BE OBTAINED. THEN WESTERN FIVE SHOULD GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.  
END SUMMARY.

2. NYERERE SUMMONED WESTERN FIVE AMBASSADORS TO HIS MSASANI HOUSE AFTERNOON JUNE 12. WITH HIM WERE PRIVATE SECRETARY BUTIKU  
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AND FOREIGN MINISTRY INFORMATION DIRECTOR TESHA. NYERERE SAID HE WAS "A MESSENGER" FOR THE FRONT LINE MEETING IN LUANDA OVER THE WEEKEND. THE MEETING HAD SPENT MOST OF ITS TIME ON NAMIBIA AND HE HAD BEEN DELEGATED TO REPORT TO THE FIVE. NUJOMA--"FORTUNATELY, WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF HIS ADVISORS--HAD ALSO BEEN IN LUANDA.

3. THE FRONT LINE AND SWAPO HAD AGREED THAT ONLY TWO ISSUES

REMAIN ON NAMIBIA, SAID NYERERE. ONE WAS NEED FOR A STATEMENT FROM THE FIVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT WALVIS BAY WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA. NYERERE WAS AWARE THAT THERE COULD STILL BE A PROBLEM OF WORDING OVER THIS; BUT ON BASIS OF WHAT HE HAD ALREADY BEEN TOLD BY WESTERN SOURCES, HE MADE CLEAR IN LUANDA THAT HE THOUGHT SATISFACTORY STATEMENT WOULD BE FORTHCOMING.

4. SECOND QUESTION WAS OF TROOP LOCATIONS. NYERERE AND FRONT LINE HAD BEEN TELLING SWAPO TO ACCEPT PRESENT TWO SITE PROPOSAL BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP PRESENCE WOULD BE TEMPORARY AND WAS A FACE-SAVING DEVICE FOR SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, IN WAKE OF CASSIGA RAID, ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA, AS WELL AS SWAPO, COULD NO LONGER HOLD TO THIS. ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA ALSO FEARED MISCHIEF TO THEMSELVES FROM SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN THE NORTH. SO, ALL HAD AGREED AT LUANDA THAT TROOPS HAD TO BE MOVED TO "ONE OR TWO PLACES SOUTH OF WINDHOECK." IF THIS WAS ACCEPTED, SWAPO AND FRONT LINE WOULD APPROVE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSALS.

6. NYERERE WAS THEREFORE ASKING ON BEHALF OF SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE THAT THE WESTERN FIVE CONVEY THIS MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA, GET ITS AGREEMENT, MEET ONCE AGAIN WITH SWAPO IN LUANDA TO PICK UP SWAPO AGREEMENT, AND THEN GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR IMPLEMENTATION. NYERERE THOUGHT THAT "THINGS HAD GONE VERY FAR AHEAD" IN LUANDA AND THAT PROSPECTS FOR A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT WERE GOOD.

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7. I SAID I THOUGHT THAT WALVIS BAY SATEMENT WAS MANAGEABLE, BUT I FEARED REOPENING OF PROPOSAL FOR TROOP LOCATIONS WOULD GIVE SOUTH AFRICA OPPORTUNITY TO SLIP OFF THE HOOK. I COULD NOT SEE HOW MATTER OF TROOP LOCATIONS COULD BE SUBJECT TO "CLARIFICATION" AS OPPOSED TO "NEGOTIATION". IT WORRIED ME DEEPLY. WAS IT REALLY NECESSARY? NYERERE SAID "PLEASE TRY\*"

8. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER SWAPO HAD ANY OTHER PROBLEMS, RELATIONSHIP OF SYG REP TO ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, ETC., NYERERE SAID THERE WERE NONE. ON SWAPO PAST POSITION THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN WALVIS BAY HAD TO BE COUNTED IN THE 1500, NYERERE SAID THIS HAD NOT ARisen AT LUANDA. "LET'S FORGET IT. WALVIS BAY IS A SEPARATE MATTER."

9. WHEN ASKED WHY WESTERN FIVE-SWAPO MEETING HAD TO BE IN LUANDA, NYERERE SAID THE ANGOLANS AND SWAPO WANT IT THAT WAY. IN SUMMATION OF DESIRED SEQUENCE OF EVENTS (PARA 6 ABOVE), NYERERE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF INVITING SOUTH AFRICANS TO LUANDA (JUST SWAPO AND THE FIVE). HE ALSO INDICATED THAT THE LUANDA MEETING WAS NOT CONTINGENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT ON NEW TROOP LOCATIONS. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE DID NOT GET SUCH AGREEMENT, HE DIDN'T THINK WE WERE GOING TO GO MUCH FURTHER

ON NAMIBIA.

10. COMMENT: WE ALL THANKED NYERERE FOR REPORT AND AGREED TO COMMUNICATE IT TO OUR GOVERNMENTS. (EACH AMBASSADOR IS REPORTING SEPARATELY.) NYERERE'S MANNER WAS FRIENDLY, MILD, AND HOPEFUL. HE CLEARLY STILL WANTS TO GET NEGOTIATED NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT. HE WAS CAREFUL TO EMPHASIZE THAT HIS MESSAGE WAS AN AGREED SWAPO-FRONT LINE ONE BUT ALSO CONVEYED IMPRESSION THAT ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA WERE THE ONES WHO WERE INSISTING ON RELOCATING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS.

11. REGRETFULLY, I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO HAVING ANOTHER TRY AT SOUTH AFRICA ON THE TROOP LOCATIONS QUESTION. PRETORIA HAS BROUGHT THIS ON ITSELF AS A RESULT OF THE CASSIGA RAID. WHATEVER WE GET  
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FROM SOUTH AFRICA, THE STAGE HAS BEEN SET FOR ANOTHER MEETING WITH SWAPO, IN WHICH THERE MAY BE ROOM FOR A LITTLE COUNTER-BARGAINING, I CONCUR WITH NYERERE, HOWEVER, THAT UNLESS WE CAN FIND SOME WAY TO MODIFY THE OSHIVELLO-GROOTFONTEIN TROOP LOCATIONS, WE ARE NOT LIKELY TO GET MUCH FURTHER AHEAD. SPAIN  
UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REPORTS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014